

used as a lever to provide occupation for a friend, but that 177
there was a very real fear of Kurumba sorcery I have no 754
doubt.

It is easy to see how this belief in the magical powers of the Kurumbas may have arisen, or, more probably, how its existence may have been maintained. The slopes of the hills on which the Kurumbas live are extremely malarious, and it must often have happened that a visit to a Kurumba village was followed by an attack of fever of a severe kind. We probably have here a good example of a vicious circle. Whenever two tribes of different degrees of culture live near one another, the members of the lower usually acquire the reputation of being sorcerers. For this and other reasons they are driven to a less healthy district, and the unhealthiness of the district helps to maintain and reinforce their reputation for magical powers.

THE EVIL EYE

Various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that 777
he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is also 753
unlucky that any one should look at a man when he is eating. Similarly it is unlucky for anyone to say that a buffalo is giving much milk; she will probably kick her calf or will suffer in some other way soon after.

This kind of misfortune is usually called *kanarvasnadr*, which was translated, "if looking anxiously." It is also often known now by the Tamil name *konduti* or *kontushti* or evil eye. One of the commonest effects of *kanarvasnadr* is indigestion. When anyone is suffering from evil effects of this kind, he calls in one of certain people called *utkoren*, or 755
"praying people," or, probably more correctly, "saying incan- 756
tations people." Piutolván (10), Keitazvan (15), and a woman, Sinpurs (7), are *utkoren* of repute. Any one of the male *utkoren* may be spoken of as an *utpol*, but I was doubtful whether this name would also be used for a woman.

The *utpol* rubs the belly of the sick person, holds one 755
corner of his cloak in his left hand, and, putting some salt on 177
the cloak, strokes the salt with a thorn of the plant called

308 THE TODAS *The last clause* CHAP.
~~was said by Samuel to be interpreted!~~

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
 782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
 805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
 193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely
 long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of
 combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is
 one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language.
 It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical
 with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
 783 the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
 786 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
 688 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr
 and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way
 home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the
 property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is
 very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not
 divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who
 takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of
irnörtiti and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a
 man of one division of the clan to the members of the other
 division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atone-
 ment for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of
 which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the
 Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to
 Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing
 from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the
 property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the
 chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
 253 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
 277 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of
 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit
 the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

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Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.¹ The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *terersthi* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *inürüiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

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¹ According to a later finding of the *tuvel*, the death of Terrell was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

753 his *pia*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
 761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
 688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
 782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *kalmelpudithi* to
 783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving
 of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
 782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
 783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
 783 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
 777 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure
 688 of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this
 institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed
 to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that
 all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because
 the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations
 which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
 796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
 783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
 688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
 782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were
 to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have
 been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of
 which he was able to give me any account took place on
 January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the
 Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes
 of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon
 them for the sins they had committed in revealing its
 secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pul* of the
 dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not
 told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by
 prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation
 adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti*
 to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
 688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
 796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
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527 days would be kept by those clans on whose *madnol* they might fall.

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621 Several previous writers, when recording the choice of certain days for the funeral ceremonies, have ascribed to the 618 Todas a belief in lucky and unlucky days, in days of good or evil omen. One man, when telling me that Sunday, 777 Wednesday, and Saturday were days on which the *irpalvusthi* ceremony might be performed at the *tarvati*, referred to them as lucky days.

I think it is extremely doubtful whether the Toda in general has any such belief, and if he has, it is probable that the idea is a recent importation borrowed from the Hindus, among whom the belief in lucky or unlucky days is of course very prevalent. The distinction among the Todas is rather into feast and fast days, using the latter term in a wide sense.

It is possible that the institutions of *madnol* and *palinol* have grown out of the belief in unlucky days; that certain things were not done on these days because they were unlucky days, and that so there came into existence a code of rules prescribing what might and what might not be done.

The chief difficulty in the way of this view is the fact that the different clans of the Todas have different sacred days. One would expect lucky and unlucky days to be the same for the whole community. The sacred days place very definite restrictions on the intercourse between different clans, and this inconvenience must be increased by the fact that the different clans have different *madnol*, and there is no obvious reason why this difference in the choice of sacred days should have come about.

The distinction between *madnol* and *palinol* is, again, one which can hardly have grown out of the belief in unlucky days, though perhaps, given a village day, it is not an unnatural step for the Todas to have decided that they would have a dairy day also.

527 Whatever the origin of the laws regulating Toda custom in this respect, I think there is little doubt that when at the 777 present time a given act is done or not done on a given day, the action is not based on a belief in lucky or unlucky days,

but, as nearly always among the Todas, on custom prescribing that the act shall or shall not be done on that day.

There are, however, other restrictions or relaxations connected with certain days of the week which have probably arisen out of a belief in lucky and unlucky days.

There is a regulation (now almost a dead letter) that the Todas must not cross the Paikara and Avalanche rivers on Tuesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays. Sundays and Wednesdays, on the other hand, are the days on which the *wursol* is allowed to sleep in the hut with ordinary people, and Mondays and Thursdays are the days on which the *palol* is visited by Todas other than the *midrol*. Such facts suggest that the three days on which the rivers should not be crossed are unlucky days, but, on the other hand, the days which I was once told were lucky days included Saturday. The evidence at our command is conflicting, and does no more than suggest that the restrictions or relaxations common to the whole community may be connected with the belief in lucky and unlucky days.

Attention may here be called to the fact that the Todas evidently regard the first half of the month as most auspicious for their ceremonies, and it would seem that in most cases the first appropriate day of the week after the new moon is the proper day for nearly every Toda ceremonial. I met with no case in which any ceremony was appointed for the period of the full moon or for the second half of the moon's period. At the present, it seems that such ceremonies as those connected with the migrations of the buffaloes may take place in the second half of the month, but I have no doubt that this is only a result of modern laxity.

The definite values assigned to different days of the week is a very special feature of Toda custom, and in the *madrol* we have an institution very closely resembling that of the Sabbath. In a busier community than that of the Todas, the existence of different *madrol* for different clans of the community would soon become a serious obstacle to carrying on the business of life, and such a community would probably agree that all clans should have the same holy day. At present the *madrol* is undoubtedly more sacred than the other

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Toda culture thirty-five years after

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the *touŋuŋ* and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (*tūŋ*) which are gods (*tou*)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the *siba*. They have connexions with the villages of the *siba* (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. *tōkiŋ* created most of the Toda institutions at the mund *noŋ* and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these *touŋuŋ* are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The *tounoŋ* are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the *munda*, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at *munda*. Most *munda* consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the *tounoŋ* and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as *noŋ* as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is *noŋ* "sacred place." Within the *noŋ* it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the *noŋ* itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as *tou* "god" or *noŋ* "sacred place" or *tounoŋ*, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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794 114 *Annals of the Bhanderkar Oriental Research Institute*

796 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and not "sacred place"
 234 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
 798 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
 792 localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows:¹

796	noʔoʔelm	kuʔtʃuʔnoʔ
798	sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
234	tʃuʔoʔelm	"
539	gods-all	"
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I. a. " (noʔ), the sacred place to which the goddess tokleʃ gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moreʃarm	kuʔrtʃuʔnoʔ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
uʔeʃarm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

I. a. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

noʔtʃuʔtʃk	pluʔnoʔ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
tʃuʔnoʔtʃk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

794 I. a. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly
 796 of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the
 798 gods go is held in the dairy of the mund mymʃ to settle disputes
 234 and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the
 792 tʃuʔuʔ, the tʃuʔnoʔ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon,
 794 assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1400 in number.² From
 this the tʃuʔnoʔ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is
 also evident since it is said that a tʃuʔnoʔ may become angry and
 visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular
 dairy-complex.

¹ See *The Songs of the Todas*, references given in note 1.

² The two numbers make the song-pair: paʔuʔuʔtʃuʔ, paʔuʔuʔtʃuʔ = 1600 gods, 1400 gods. That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (həʔum)" of the mund mymʃ, which is paʔuʔuʔ, said to mean "the standing-place (pəʔ) of the 1600 gods (represented by paʔuʔuʔ for paʔuʔuʔ)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §12.

EMENEAU: LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

pojoʃ-ʃo:ikj	ʌ fʊmen
o:soʃ-fopt	ʌ fʊmen
no:poʃ-ʃo:ikj	ʌ fʊmen
si:moʃ-ʃ-ʃig	ʌ fʊmen

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"I have become ashamed before the pojoʃ; I have become a word [i.e., a subject for ridicule] before the o:soʃ; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of post "word" with o:soʃ seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's pojoʃ would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The pojoʃ and the o:soʃ together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

pojoʃt-ko:ikj	ʌ fʊmen
o:soʃt-fopt	ʌ fʊmen

"I have become ashamed before the pojoʃ; I have become a subject for ridicule before the o:soʃ." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by pojoʃ and o:soʃ, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way.

Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

pojoʃ-ʃo:ikj	ʌ fʊman
o:soʃ-fopt	ʌ fʊman

"We have become ashamed before the pojoʃ, we have become a subject for ridicule before the o:soʃ." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, pojoʃ and o:soʃ seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we find that the pojoʃ relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

[Melgarsh Village]

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THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

- 159 central a figure in this family, her story should be, I think, a bit elaborated. She was born a member of the Pan clan of the Tardharsh moiety, 621 the daughter of a woman called Monkiz of the Kiaror *modol* and officially of Tinmarsh, and a man of Pan. I say "officially" because actually Monkiz already had a husband, Urshen of Melgarsh, by whom she was expecting. But, as is very usual with the Todas, she was carried off by [587] Tinmarsh when he heard that she was with child and, after due compensation had been paid to Urshen, he gave her the bow and arrow in the *putsitpimi* ceremony. Monkiz died soon after, and the newborn [844] Errzigwuf was more or less abandoned, her father going off with another woman who did not care for her at all. She would have died had it not been for Terzivel, her paternal grandmother, who took her to the *mad* Natersh and looked after her. At a very early age, as is the Toda custom, she was married to her *matchuni* (cross-cousin), Kishkil of Kiaror. [687] When she came of age, she was married to Alvrvishk of Karsh, who paid six buffaloes to Kishkil in compensation for taking her away. She had no children by this husband, who actually died soon after the wedding. He was succeeded by Mutnarsh of Melgarsh and his brothers, her present husbands. She at first had four still-born children, for which 159 the family roundly abused her; she was very depressed by this and 621 wanted to commit suicide, but could never actually bring herself to do it. 845 Then she went to Palani in the plains (a Tamil temple famous for its pilgrimages) and made a vow to the deity. Soon after, she was again [762] expecting, and this time she gave birth to her first son, Pershrörsh. Then [842] she had the other two children, and again went to Palani as, after Pengalam, six years passed without her having any more children. Mutnarsh went with her, and they both prayed in the temple, she for a boy and he for a girl, each without knowing about the other. The result was Sodup and Sodam, a pair of twins which the Todas consider very unlucky (in [777] olden days one of them was immediately put to death). In this case, however, the *tsuol* (Toda seer) when consulted told them that it was all right, because obviously their wish had been fulfilled after she and Mutnarsh had, in ignorance of each other, prayed for a child of different sex. They later returned again to Palani, and the twins which were born when I was at Melgarsh came, it was called, as a result of this last pilgrimage. How they were received will be narrated below. Errzigwuf 159 had a lover, Kalorst of Pier, for some time (two years), as is the custom with Todas, but eventually Mutnarsh quarrelled with him and he 621 left. She seems very happy in her present family life, and is always surrounded by her children who cling to her like chicks to a hen. [837]